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Carey, Henry Charles

The Senate finance bill

[Philadelphia]

[1875]

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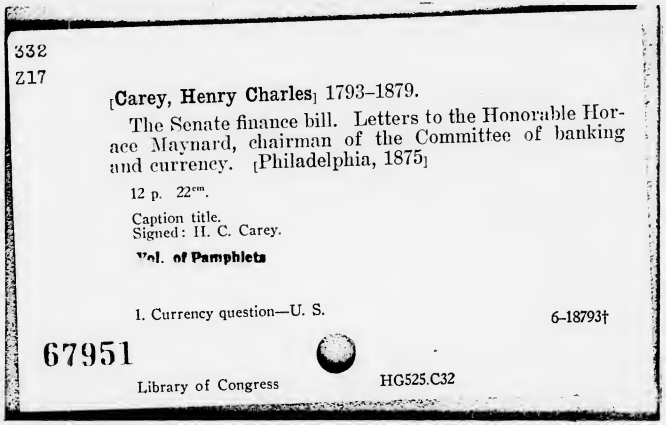

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[Carey, Henry Charles] 1793–1879.

The Senate finance bill. Letters to the Honorable Horace Maynard, chairman of the Committee of banking and currency. [Philadelphia, 1875]

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Signed: H. C. Carey.

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THE SENATE FINANCE BILL.

H. C. Carey

LETTERS TO THE HONORABLE HORACE MAYNARD,

Chairman of the Committee of Banking and Currency.

Pa. 1870

DEAR SIR: Your House of Congress having fortunately postponed consideration of that Finance Bill which, so discreditably as I think, had been forced without discussion through the Senate, opportunity has been thus afforded for an examination thereof which it is proposed now to make; first, however, presenting a brief view of the money question generally, as follows:—

Money is an instrument of exchange, changing in the form in which it presents itself as communities become more and more advanced in civilization. In the early periods of their several existences we find them using as such cattle and sheep (*pecus*, whence *pecunia*, money), cowrie shells, wampum, tobacco, codfish, and other of the commodities subjected to their control. Growing in numbers and in wealth they gradually find themselves enabled to command the services of those metals which seem almost to have been created for this especial purpose, gold and silver. In time, even these are, to a certain extent, superseded by drafts and bills by whose aid moneys are transferred from place to place free of all cost for transportation. Circulating notes, checks, and other machinery now follow; each and every step in this march of improvement more and more exhibiting the fact that the precious metals pass more and more out of use, with constant increase in the power of combination for obtaining command of the wonderful forces of nature. Moving steadily onward in this direction, we find the last two decades to have gone so far ahead of all the ages by which they had been preceded, that, to the extent of hundreds of millions, within some of the most important communities, has the Post-office "money order" superseded even the note; that efforts are now being made for establishing the same system throughout the world; that Clearing Houses within the great commercial cities have tended largely in the same direction; and, that by aid of the electric telegraph the largest sums are now made to pass and repass across the ocean, freed from all the delays, risks, and expense which until now had been so little to be avoided by even the money monarchs of the world. All past experience goes thus to show that with growth of civilization the machinery of exchange becomes less and less costly, whether as regards its production or its transportation; that with this decrease of cost it be-

comes less and less capable of commanding the services of either man or land; that wages, land, and raw materials tend therefore to rise; the prices of finished commodities, on the contrary, tending to fall, as a result of that increased power of combination which everywhere exhibits itself as a consequence of growing power to command the use of machinery of exchange.

Desiring now to see all this, as found in this Western Hemisphere, exhibited in its fullest perfection, look, my dear sir, to New England, and see how little costly at all times has been that machinery; how abundant has been its supply, and how slight, by comparison with other portions of the Union, have been the changes therein; how moderate, as so compared, have been the charges for its use; how great has been the tendency to a rise in the prices of land and in wages of both the sexes; how strong has been the tendency of raw materials of every kind toward its markets; how strong, too, that tendency among those who would purchase cloth, shoes, paper, or other finished commodities, and would cheaply be supplied.

That we may be enabled now to see how wonderful is the power of combination, and consequent growth of force, resulting from the free supply, and perfect readiness in the use, of machinery of exchange, I pray you now, my dear sir, to pass with me up the avenues, streets, and alleys of the neighborhood in which I write, containing within less than a dozen miles of our Independence Hall the habitations of more than a million of persons, all, with but moderate exception, engaged in exchanging services of the minutest kind, each and all, directly or indirectly, with each and every other. Pass into a mill with its hundreds of occupants, and watch the passing of a pound of cotton through those hundreds of hands, each and all giving and receiving service, and needing for their payment the services of money in its minutest forms, from the nickel cent to the lowest form of greenback. Follow it up, watching it as it passes through the hands of the little shopkeeper to those of the sewing woman, passing thence to the laborer's wife, and see how infinitely numerous are the small exchanges of society as compared with those great exchanges which exhibit themselves in the passage of a bale of cloth from the mill to the great dealer by whom its contents are to be distributed. Look into the shops, market houses, beer gardens, groggeries, and then determine for yourself if the small exchanges, creating demands for machinery of exchange in its minutest forms, annually made in this little district, may not be estimated at hundreds, if not even by thousands of millions. Look, then, throughout the Union, to the cities, towns, villages, mills, mines, furnaces, factories, farms and farm houses, beer shops and groggeries, and then determine, if you can, how many thousands of millions of exchanges are annually made, not even a single one of which could, in the absence of machinery of exchange of value less than that of the dollar greenback, be effected, if at all, with that promptitude now exhibited.

How trivial by comparison with the extraordinary work performed, is the quantity of this machinery now in use is shown by the following figures:—

Greenbacks of $1 and $2 . . .	~~$9,780,000~~
Fractional currency	~~44,000,000~~
	~~$53,780,000~~

Deducting from this the quantity which has been destroyed, and adding the small notes of National banks, we shall obtain a total probably exceeding $120,000,000, and possibly reaching $130,000,000, giving about three dollars per head of the population. Adding now the $5 greenbacks, we find that nearly one-half of the national circulation consists in notes required for performance of the smaller exchanges of society, and by those poor men who are, by the provisions of this bill, to be compelled to purchase, at heavy cost, the machinery now supplied to them at such trivial cost.

In this small machinery it is that we find the foundation of that great commerce which gives employment to our ships and locomotives, our wagons and our roads. In happy accordance with what exhibits itself in the phenomena of the natural world, it constitutes that part of the great societary machine which works most noiselessly and most regularly; a fact most clearly shown in last year's crisis, when, in face of sudden contraction, to the extent of perhaps 150 millions, of that machinery which needs the services of clearing houses and telegraphs, the movement of that in use among workingmen and women, and counting by dimes, was as entirely undisturbed as could have been the case had the word "crisis" not have been even whispered.

The former may be described as the aristocratic form of money, the latter being the democratic one; and yet, most strangely, the pro slavery party, rejoicing always in the name of democratic, has been persistently determined on inflicting upon the working classes of the community a necessity for using money of the most costly description, when the use of the less costly could have been obtained at so much lower rate of interest. The most really democratic communities of the world, those of the New England States, have always allowed their people to make for themselves those cheap instruments of exchange called dollar notes; Pennsylvania meanwhile compelling her working men to obtain from abroad, and at high interest, those more costly required for exchanges within the sum of five dollars; the pre-eminently democratic Missouri, with Colonel Benton at her head, demanding not only that her own people, but those of the Union generally, should be forbidden the use of cheap instruments of exchange in any case when the money needed was less than the value of a golden eagle. Large operators might create such instruments for themselves in the form of checks, drafts, and bills of exchange; and thus was the use of the most important of all the machinery of production, or exchange, denied to the workman while freely granted to his employer. Soon after the opening of the war all this changed,

the Treasury furnishing such machinery to poor and rich alike; and hence it was that the country exhibited a rapidity of circulation, and a force so great as to have enabled us not only to carry on that wonderful contest without assistance from abroad, but also to absorb nearly the whole of that foreign debt which previously had been contracted. Since then, and almost from the close of the rebellion, our course has been directly the reverse, every movement of the Treasury having been in the direction of re-creating that monetary dependence on foreigners to which we stand indebted for the existing crisis, and of bringing about a state of things in which the working man shall be compelled to use the most costly machinery of exchange while allowing the wealthy banker to create such machinery, *ad libitum*, for himself, wholly free of cost.

Moving steadily onward in that direction the bill now before us proposes, Mr. Chairman, a demonetization of the whole of that currency whose use is indispensable to working men and women; thus reducing it, as gold has already been, to the condition of a mere article of merchandise whose value, as compared with greenbacks, may, and probably will, within the next twelve months, vary to the extent of 5, 6, 8, or 10 per cent. From the moment of final enactment into law of the contrivance here below given for robbing the poor to the profit of the rich, the hoarder of greenbacks will be seen extracting them from his stocking to be replaced by that fractional currency which is now to be persecuted out of existence; doing this for the reason that at any moment he may carry this latter to the Treasury to be there exchanged for silver to be sold at a profit to the neighboring money dealer. From that moment all such dealers will seek to purchase, at a premium of 1 or 2 per cent., small currency to be resold at 3, 4, or 5 per cent.; and thus must gradually be withdrawn from the market all the machinery now used for performance of those thousands of millions of exchanges which constitute the base of our whole commercial system. With what effect? May it not, Mr. Chairman, be attended with results closely resembling those which followed the levelling by Samson of those pillars upon which so long had rested the whole superstructure of the Temple? That such must certainly be the case is, in my belief, beyond a question.

The contrivance whose inevitable results have been thus described has been brought before the country in the words that follow, to wit:—

A Bill to Provide for the Resumption of Specie Payments.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required, as rapidly as practicable, to cause to be coined at the mints of the United States, silver coins of denominations of ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents, of standard value, and to issue them in redemption of an equal number and amount of fractional currency of similar denominations; or, at his discretion, he may issue such silver coins through the mints, sub-treasuries, public depositaries, and post-offices of the United States, and upon such issue he is hereby authorized and required to redeem an equal amount of such fractional currency until the whole amount of such fractional currency outstanding shall be redeemed.

No option is here allowed, the Secretary being "required" to do such things, and to do them "as rapidly as practicable;" carrying on the movement throughout the coming spring, summer, and autumn, even although greenbacks may have fallen, as compared with silver, to the extent of 10 or 20 per cent. The Treasury, however, through Mr. Elliott, of the Statistical Bureau, assures us that "there is reason to hope" that his two per cent. premium on silver, represented as now existing, "may be reduced to nothing by the Administration before the Mint is ready to put into circulation any large amount of silver coin." What reason there is for such a "hope"—worthless, at its best, as the basis of financial changes such as are now proposed, and infinitely worthless in face of the fact that silver is this day quoted at *six per cent.*—we may now inquire.

The silver kings of Nevada, anxious to make a market for their commodity, and to maintain, if not even to raise its price, have invented a trade dollar of increased weight, with which they supply the markets of the Eastern world. With the same idea they have been urgent with the Administration for the purchase of forty or fifty millions of dollars of their commodity, knowing that the arrest of so large a quantity on its way to Europe would raise the price in London, and, as a necessary consequence, its price among ourselves.* The less silver we had to send the more gold would be required for export, with increase of its price, to be followed by a further rise of silver. Germany and France are now seeking to obtain increased quantities of gold, thereby compelling the Bank of England to raise the rate of interest. Confidence having wholly left us, we have ceased to make such permanent investments as are involved in the making of roads, the building of mills, or the opening of mines, and, as a consequence, Treasury bonds are so much higher here than abroad that large quantities are imported; thus creating a necessity for exports of gold to such extent as greatly to exceed anything of the kind ever known at the cotton-exporting season of the year. By the report of the Director of the Mint, gold is shown to have commanded, in October last, a premium of 10 per cent. It is now above 112, and if confidence shall continue to decline, as it certainly must under the provisions of this bill, why may it not, as is very properly asked by the *New York Tribune*, rise to 15 or 20 per cent., if not even higher? That effort in this direction is to be made by the Treasury would seem to be obvious from the fact that the Secretary is now to be authorized to create and sell bonds for gold, this latter to be distributed throughout the Union to take the place of greenbacks; this, too, at a time when the principal nations of Europe are contending with each other for the purchase of all the

* The *Nation* has just now given its readers a statement of the silver exports of the past three years, amounting to nearly $60,000,000; being but little more than would be required for filling the vacuum caused by withdrawal of the fractional currency. Admitting that all this could, by any possibility, be retained here, is it not obvious that the stoppage of export would cause increase of price abroad, to be followed by similar increase at home?

gold we have to spare. To my mind, Mr. Chairman, it seems far more likely, in the event of this bill becoming law, that gold will attain a higher price than that at which it stood in 1865, rather than that, by any possibility, it can fall below the present one.* In that event what must be the price of the *working-man's money*, silver, which will have been so vainly sought to be substituted for that costless machinery by whose means thousands of millions of exchanges below even a single dollar are now so readily, and so noiselessly, made? Must not the man who works pay the tax that has been thus imposed on him for the especial benefit of mine owners who are now rejoicing in wonderful discoveries which have brought almost within sight the material out of which may be created hundreds of millions of silver dollars? Must not the poor be thus made poorer the rich meanwhile being made richer? Must not brokers and bankers reap rich harvests? Such, assuredly, must be the case. Admitting, however, that the silver premium never goes beyond 4, 5, or even 6 per cent., let us now see what must be the operation of the system that is to be established. The workman receives for his day's labor one or more greenbacks, part of which he desires to apply to the purchase of whiskey, sugar, or cloth—10, 15, or 20 cents' worth of each. Presenting himself at the grog-shop, he there learns that change has disappeared, and that, if he would have his

* "There is abundant proof that the importation of bonds and other securities from Europe is not a mere speculative venture. It will probably continue for a considerable period. The savings of the country amount to a large sum, and as those savings are not now invested, or rather sunk, in railroad bonds, new furnaces, mines, factories and other such undertakings, a large share of them necessarily take the shape of a repurchase from Europe of some of the first-class securities which have been sold there since the war. This is especially true of United States bonds. Of the exports of specie, it is only necessary to say that they have been made at a season of the year when our exports of merchandise are at their highest and our imports at the lowest. To our apprehension they indicate clearly that the premium on gold is too low. Gold is sent because it is cheaper than grain and cotton, with which products we are much heavier stocked than we are with gold. What should go to Europe in settlement of the balances against us is not gold, but more grain and cotton; more provisions and petroleum. Especially is this the case if we are to return to specie payments at any time during the next ten years. But the merchandise and produce exported can only be increased by lowering our prices relative to prices in Europe. Our import trade is already extremely depressed. But whether the equilibrium be restored by an increase of exports or a decrease of imports, or by both combined, the means by which such a change can be most easily and naturally effected is a higher paper money price of gold. Gold is *the* commodity of all others which for the last two months has visibly been growing scarcer, and we should be glad if we had any good reason for believing that in this case increasing scarcity will not end in a higher price. This, of course, is too trifling a matter to arrest the attention of those Congressmen who think they have only to get together in caucus to settle any or all financial questions in sixty minutes. Our views of this complicated subject may be incorrect, but they did not take shape, nor have we given them to the public without due reflection and observation of the present course of trade, and some attention to events of a similar nature in past times and other countries." —*New York Tribune.*

The last year has exhibited a wonderful reduction of prices followed by large *increase* in the export of gold. Can further reduction be regarded as likely to be followed by large *decrease* of that export? Assuredly not! Every step taken in that direction has been, and must be, simply another stage on *the road to ruin*.

glass, he must produce a ten-cent note, or a silver dime, little more than *nine* of which can be obtained in exchange for a greenback dollar. Dissatisfied, he tries other shops, with always the same result, arriving finally at the conclusion that a new system of taxation has been invented, by means of which an eighth or a tenth of his wages is in all the future to be confiscated, with a view to prove the advantage resulting from the use of that hard money so much admired by financial editors who fail to see that the substitution of cheap money for dear money, with constant decline in the rate of interest, is to be regarded as an advance in civilization.

Journalistic correspondents, Mr. Chairman, assure us that the Secretary has expressed the opinion that this measure will be almost inoperative for the next three years. With great respect for the honorable gentleman, I find myself compelled to say that in this he is certainly in error. That it will become operative within an hour of receiving the presidential signature will be proved by his own experience. From that moment will he himself part with a paper dime, except upon compulsion? Will any friend willingly give him ten paper dimes for a greenback? Will any shopkeeper do so? Will any bank give him the accustomed little package of 25 cent pieces for a $5 greenback? Not one of them! Will not every man, woman, and child, to the best of their abilities, become hoarders of a currency that cannot be replaced? Will he not himself then be compelled to go into the market and buy those little silver pieces which now command a premium of six per cent.? Will not such pieces become as scarce throughout the country as water in the African desert? Will they be obtainable, even if at all, at a cost of less than 15 or 20 per cent.? Assuredly they will not; and as assuredly there will be brought about, within a month, such a state of things as will *compel repeal* of this most discreditable and destructive measure. Reserving for another letter some further comments on this extraordinary emanation of senatorial wisdom, I remain,

Very truly and respectfully yours,

H. C. CAREY.

HON. H. MAYNARD.

PHILADELPHIA, January 2, 1875.

LETTER SECOND.

DEAR SIR:—

At the moment at which I write, we have brought to notice a "cheque bank," now in full operation throughout England, by means of which, in the making of small exchanges, the use of gold and silver is to be in a great degree dispensed with. So successful, we are assured, has it been, that it "looks to becoming a universal bank for small transactions not only in London and this country, but abroad,

and all over the world." Civilization elsewhere thus looks toward diminution in the cost of money machinery; whereas, with us, under the lead of money-changers, every movement that is proposed tends toward saddling the working-man with all the expense necessarily incident to the use of the most costly of all the machinery of exchange

What is above described as occurring to an individual, and in a single locality, is what must, under the new system, occur in every village town, and city of the Union, greenbacks being everywhere at a discount as compared with that machinery of exchange which the workingman needs for almost all the purposes of life. Unwilling to submit to the heavy tax, he now demands of his employer that he shall be paid in hard money, desiring thus to transfer the burden from his shoulders to those of the man above him; this latter already suffering so severely as to render it difficult to conceive that the mill, mine, or factory shall long continue in full work. Driven to the wall by money lenders on one hand, and by the Administration on the other, his machinery stops, and now the workman finds himself deprived of the power to obtain even that greenback dollar which would have enabled him to obtain some silver dimes with which to purchase the bread required for his wife and children. As a contrivance for closing the shops, and the workshops, of the country, for bringing about repudiation of the national debt, and for final termination of that Union in whose behalf the North so recently has expended so much of treasure and of blood, the measure now proposed is matchless, and is worthy of the financial skill of the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

Hundreds of thousands of men, able and willing to work, are now unemployed, and every movement of the Government tends to their increase in number. The more that number the less becomes the power to purchase food or fuel; and the greater the need for reduction of wages. Strikes and lock-outs become more numerous and more dangerous, the tendency thereto becoming greater from day to day. What, however, may they not become when, to all existing causes of disquiet shall come to be added the demonetization of that greenback currency in which the workman is paid, as compared with the paper dimes he needs to use? May not troubles arise of which it would shock us now even to think?

On all former occasions, towns and cities, villages and boroughs, banks and bankers, were at liberty to furnish the small money required for maintaining that minute commerce upon which the great commerce is so entirely dependent. Now, however, nothing of the kind can be done, the Treasury having assumed entire control of the currency, and all its movements being in the direction of annihilating the power of workingmen to command the services of machinery of exchange for any purpose whatsoever.

Whiskey and tobacco, to which we mainly look for internal revenue, are but rarely sold in quantities equal to even a single dollar. If the workman be precluded, as he is like to be, from the

use of either silver or paper dimes, how shall he purchase his quid or his glass? If he cannot purchase, what becomes of the revenue which such commodities supply? What of that revenue which results from millions of sugar purchases whose extent is so frequently limited within a single dime? Must not this section of the bill, alone, produce paralysis of the whole societary movement; closing of the shop being followed by closing of the mill, and the two being followed by the ruin of thousands of even those very traders to whose energetic efforts in the cause of hard and dear money we stand now indebted for the troubles under which the country has so severely suffered?

As regards the other portions of the bill, it is needed only to say that their enactment into law must certainly be followed, on the part of all banks worthy of credit, by an early withdrawal of their circulation. Government bonds have now been forced up to so high a price that the profit of circulation, always small, has fallen so low that Western bankers have already found it expedient to convert them into money, thus emancipating themselves from all connection with the Government. What thus far has been done in that direction, is, however, as nothing compared with what will certainly be done in the course of the present year in the event of this bill, ludicrously entitled "a bill to provide for the resumption of specie payments," becoming law. Its proper title would be "a bill to provide for bankrupting the most important institutions of the country, to be followed by bankruptcy of the Treasury itself;" and that such is the one it merits is as certain as the light of to-morrow will follow rising of the sun.

That such must be the course of things will be obvious to those who appreciate to how small an extent the Treasury has any real power to enforce measures of resumption. On former occasions of stoppage, our banks, and perhaps those of other cities, have required their customers to enter into an agreement to accept for their checks precisely such money as they had paid in, gold, silver, or notes; and this is what will certainly now be done, greenbacks being returned to those who had paid them in, and bank notes to those from whom such notes had been received. What power of compulsion will then remain with the Finance Minister? None whatsoever, the circulation having become so nearly profitless, that on the slightest adverse movement on his part, every bank in the country may, and will, say to him that it desires to have nothing further to do with him, being fully prepared to withdraw its notes from circulation and its bonds from treasury care; leaving him thus to find his revenue where he may; thereby proving that, while harmony of action is to the last degree desirable, they hold themselves fully prepared for the war on whose prosecution he may be bent. Will the feebleness thus exhibited tend to restoration of public confidence? Will it not, on the contrary, tend to increase of distrust both here and abroad? Will not this cause larger return of national bonds? Will not gold

and silver be then required, and must not their prices become greater under this bill than they are at present?

It is thus proposed to give us a system by means of which national banks are to become more numerous, but whose result must certainly be that of largely diminishing their number; one which looks to increase in the bank note circulation with, however, the effect of diminishing it; one which looks to diminishing the greenback circulation, but whose effect must ultimately be that of compelling the Treasury to furnish the total amount required; one which looks to selling bonds abroad and buying gold, but whose result must inevitably be that of so destroying confidence as to cause large imports of bonds and exportations of gold with which to pay for them; one that looks to reduction in the prices of the precious metals as a consequence of our creating increased demand for them, and which, yet, can have no result other than that of large increase of price; one, finally, that looks to increased stability in the monetary movement, to be attained by means of an annihilation of that costless machinery which now constitutes the foundation on which it rests! Such, Mr. Chairman, is the philosophy of the wonderful financial system given to us by the Senate Finance Committee! The boatman looks one way, but rows another; and such, precisely, is the tendency of the movement that has been proposed. Why it is that such should be now the case will here be shown.

The currency in use is of three kinds, as follows:—

First. That fractional one which, from 27 millions in 1866, has grown to 44 millions at the present time.

Second. The legal tender and bank note circulation. The forms of these have been so frequently varied, that it is difficult to say what their amount has ever certainly been; but there can be but little mistake in putting it at six hundred millions in 1866, and continuing that figure down to the present day.

Third. That bank currency, which comes as a consequence of borrowing money repayable on demand, to be lent to others repayable on demand, or at short date—a process by means of which a single dollar is made to do the work of two, if not even more; thereby causing that "inflation" of which so much complaint has, and properly, been made. What have been, since the McCulloch-Fort-Wayne Manifesto in 1866, the changes in this description of currency, is shown by the following figures:—

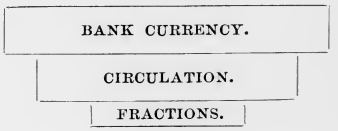
	Loans of deposits.	Currency created.
1866	$383,000,000	$766,000,000
1867	372,000,000	744,000,000
1868	425,000,000	850,000,000
1869	438,000,000	876,000,000
1870	455,000,000	910,000,000
1871	501,000,000	1,002,000,000
1872	559,000,000	1,118,000,000
1873	594,000,000	1,188,000,000

We have here, by means of this simple operation, a creation of currency exceeding, in 1873, that of 1866 by no less than $422,000,000;

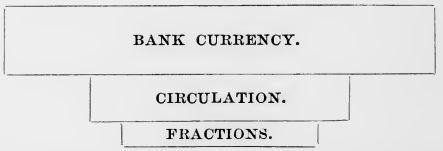
yet do these figures represent but a part of the "inflation" thus produced. No small portion of these deposits is represented by more than two persons, and at times by not less than four. Further, the amount placed in the hands of private bankers, to be subjected to the same manipulation, had become, in September, 1873, so large that it is believed to be quite safe to carry the amount, at that date, up to $1,300,000,000, being an increase of more than $500,000,000 from the date of the publication of Secretary McCulloch's ridiculous and destructive proclamation of contraction as the policy of the Government.

The form in which the figures above given present themselves to the eye is as follows:—

1866.



1873.



The bill before us proposes annihilation of the foundation, not only leaving the enormous superstructure undisturbed, but also, by destroying the little confidence which now is left, compelling increase in the quantity of unemployed capital, with consequent increase in the power of "inflation" already exercised. It is as if the captain of a ship, caught in a storm, should pack sail upon sail while throwing his ballast overboard. That precisely is what it is proposed now to do, and the result in the one case can be in no wise different from what it would have been in the other, to wit, the sinking of the (republican) ship, and the political ruin of all hands connected with her movements, from cabin boy to first lieutenant, and to captain.

The enactment into law of this monstrous scheme must certainly be followed by such results as will forever after exclude from political life all who had been concerned in its preparation, or who had in any manner aided in placing it among our statutes.

415H 2078

If, Mr. Chairman, you regard a result like this as being desirable, let me advise you to go ahead with this bill and convert it into law. If, on the contrary, you do not desire this, allow me to suggest study of the fact, that a bill now before the House, looking to the creation of convertible bonds, has in view *a diminution of our top-hamper and a steadying of our ship*—a course of proceeding directly the reverse of that now proposed; and then to judge between them.

The passage of the one would give to the community that faith in the future which is now so sadly needed, and would be worth to us in the year upon which we are now entering a thousand millions. The other will cost the country a thousand millions, if not even its Union and its political life. The one tends to carry us forward quietly and steadily to an equalization of gold and paper dollars. The other leads, assuredly, toward REPUDIATION and REBELLION, if not even REVOLUTION. Choose between them, and meanwhile believe me,

Yours, very truly,

H. C. CAREY.

HON. H. MAYNARD.

PHILADELPHIA, January 4, 1875.

END OF
TITLE